WASHINGTON, D. C

Territorial glave Code

SPEECH OF HON. HENRY WILSON, OF MASSACHUSETTS, IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES, JANUARY 25, 1860.

[CONCLUDED.]

When, Mr. President, the Republican party, summoned into being and into action in 1856, by the aggressions of slavery, by the crimes against the people of Kansas, appealed in tones as earnest as ever issued from human lips to the American people, to their sense of justice, their love of liberty, their cunotions of humanity, and their sentiments of patriotism, to all that is highest, noblest, and holiest, in human nature, to rescue the Government, arrest slavery extension ment to the policy of Washington and Jefferson, Democratic presses and Democratic leaders, whose vital and animating principle is the propagation and expansion of human slavery on the North American continent, raised the startling Sir, the Richmond Enquirer, the leading Democratic party, whose vital and animating principle is the propagation and expansion of human slavery on the North American continent, raised the startling.

Sir, the Richmond Enquirer, the leading Democratic party, Sir, the Richmond Enquirer, the leading Democratic party. highest, noblest, and holiest, in human nature, to rescue the Government, arrest slavery extension, redress the wrongs of the people, and give repose to the country, by restoring the Government to the policy of Washington and Jefferson, Democratic presses and Democratic leaders, whose vital and animating principle is the propagation and expansion of human slavery on the North American continent, raised the startling war-cry of dismion. Timid and selfish conservatism, which saw, unmoved, liberty cloven down in a distant Territory, and heard the imploring appeals for protection of freemen whose ploring appeals for protection of freemen whose sacked and burning cabins illumed the midnigh skies, shrank appalled when it heard this cry disunion, opened its long purse, and continued the destinies of the country in the keeping of men who avowed their intention to ruin if they

by the Administration and the men who lead the Democratic party,

Sir, the Richmond Enquirer, the leading Democratic organ south of the Potomac, during the canvams of 1856, avowedly advocated disunion. That exponent of the slave Democracy said:

"Sumner, and Samner's friends, must be punished and silenced. Either such wretches must be hung or put in the penitentiary, or the South should prepare at once to quit the Union."

"If Fremont is elected, the Union will not last an hour after Mr. Pierce's term expirea."

"Let the South present a compact and undivided front. Let the South present a compact and undivided front. Let ther, if possible, detuch Pennsylvania and southern Obiosouthern Indiana, and southern Illinois, from the North, and make the highlands between the Ohio and the lakes the dividing line. Let the South treat with Chifornia; and, if necessary, ally herself with Russia, with Cuba, and Brazil."

Sir, this journal, which, during the canvass, had avowed the rankest disunion sentiments—this journal, which had been the trumpet of the alarmists, after the election had been won by the aid, the "material aid," of alarmed and quaking conservatism, very naively announced to the vic-Sir, when that uncertain contest was going or Sir, when that uncertain contest was going on, when the election of Fremont seemed to the leaders of the Democracy not only possible, but probable, the Senator from Louisiana, [Mr. Superly,] one of the most skillful leaders of the slave Democracy—the acknowledged friend and champion of Mr. Buchanan—declared to the country that "if Fremont should be elected, the Union would be dissolved." The bold, dashing and outspacker Senator from Georgia (Mr. ing, and out-spoken Senator from Georgia [Mr Tooms] declared, with emphasis, that "if Fre-mont was elected, the Union would be dissolved and ought to be dissolved." The Senator from Virginia, [Mr. Mason,] then, as now, at the head of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, who avow-ed on the floor of the Senate that "the South disunion to save the Union!" Patriotic Wise! Who, in view of the sagacious patriotism of that "noble and gallant son of Virginia," will not accept the tribute of the admiring Faulkner, that "it is the fortune of some great and gifted minds to see far in advance of their cotemporaries?" May not shivering, despairing conservatism indulge the faint hope that other "noble and gallant sons of Virginia" and of the sunny South may, in humble initation of the far-seeing Wise, be "threatening disunion only to save the Union?" has the right to the natural expansion of slaver, as an element of political power," declared in a public letter that unless the aggression upon the rights of the South, as he was pleased to designate the resistance of the people of the Norti against slavery extension, ceased, he was for "the separation of these States." Mr. Butler, o South Carolina, then a lending member of the portant Committee on the Judiciary, said :

aid, the "material aid," of alarmed and quaking conservatism, very naively announced to the victims of this disunion panic that "Governor Wise threatened disunion only to save the Union!" Yes, sir; the valiant Wise, ready to put the military force of his dominions on a war footing; ready to hew his bright way through all opposing legions; ready to seize Harper's Ferry, "only threatened disunion to save the Union!" Patriotic Wise!

Mr. IVERSON. Then, that is a mistake.

Mr. IVERSON. I said that.
Mr. WILSON. And the Senator drew this

In a carefully-prepared and very elaborate speech recently delivered, the Senator from Georgia said:

On the 6th of July, the Senator from Missis

"When Frement is elected, we must roly upon what w have—a good State Government. Every Governor of the South should call the Legislature of his State together, an have measures of the South decided upon. If they did not and submitted to the degradation, they would descree the fu of slaves. I should advise my Legislature to go at the tap of the drum." tors, in which these ideas are expressed; but I must pass on. In the House, as the records will bear evidence, these sentiments were profusely uttered by the men who upheld the course of oppression in Kansas, and dictated the policy of the Democratic party. Mr. Keitt, in a fiery, and vehement speech to the people of Lynchburg Virginia, exclaimed, in view of the apprehended

ection of Fremont: "I tell you now, that if Fremont is elected, adherence is the Union is treason to liberty. [Loud cheers,] I tell you now hat the Southern man who will submit to his election is rather and a covered. [Enthusiastic cheers.]"

This speech, so contemptuous, so defiant to

wards the people of the North, so emphatic in its avowals of disunion, was promptly endorsed as "sound doctrine" by John B. Floyd, now Mr. Buchanan's Secretary of War—a gentleman of whom the Boston Post, the leading Administration organ in New England, in 1850, said benceforth he must be treated as a disunionist and the most dangerous of them all." In the autumn of 1856, Mr. Brooks, of South Carolina, received from the people of his district an ovation. Senator Butler and the Senator from Georgia [Mr. Toomss] attended, and other Southern Democratic leaders sent applauding letters. To the assembled people of his district, Mr. Brooks said:

Mr. WERSON. Then, that is a mistake. I never used any such language.

Mr. WILSON. I quoted it from a Georgia paper, which published it at the time.

Mr. IVERSON. I deny it positively. My speech is on record and in print. The gentleman shall have a copy of it, if he wants one.

Mr. WILSON. It was a speech made in Georgia

Mississ "pi; he was for immediate withdrawal from the Un pit." And, in view of the aspect of public affairs, the honorable Senator " advised the people of the South to turn their old muskets into Minie rifles, prepare powder, shot, shell, ammulition of all kinds, and fortifications, so as to be

altice of all kinds, and fortifications, so as to be ready against any emergency."

The Benator from Alabams [Mr. CLAY] early addressed the Senate upon the resolution introduced by the Senator from Virginia, [Mr. Mason;] and in this speech, prepared with the elaborate care that Senator is accustomed to bestow upon the subjects he discusses here, the Senator assumes, in effect, the position that it is impossible for the people, of the South to live under a Government a ministered by the Republican parly. He asks:

"Do yet appose that we intend to bow our necks to the

"Do yell suppose that we intend to bow our necks to it yoke? that we intend to submit to the domination of our emiss? that we intend to sit here in your presence as host ges for the good behaviour of our conquered people—a people who will be under your administration, not as sovereigns rule, but as subjects to be governed?" In response, the Senator says:

In response, the Senator says:

"I make no predictions, no promise for my State; but, in concussor, will only say, that if she is faithful to the pledges she has table and principles she has professed—if she is true to be sown interest and her own honor—if she is not recreant; isli that State pride, integrity, and duty, demand—she will never submit to your authority. I will add, that unless she, tad all the Southern States of this Union, with, perhaps, but seto, or, at most, three exceptions, are not faithless to the pledges they have given, they will never submit to the government of a President professing your political faith and elected by your sectional majority."

When the Senator from Alphame took his seat.

When the Senator from Alabama took his seat, the Senitor from California [Mr. Gwin] rose, and declared that he considered "it as the inevitable result, that the South should prepare for resistance in the event of the election of a Republican Presiders." The Senator went on to argue that President." The Senator went on to argue that the Son h must, could, and would, dissolve the Union, if the Republican party succeed in the coming election. That Senator went on to show how it e South could carry out the scheme of disunion; how she could seize the public property within her limits; that, by doing so, before the Government passed into the control of such the Government passed into the control of such an Administration, it could put it out of the power of the Administration to administer the Government it. Fat portion of the country. And he declared that "it is impossible for a Republican President to administer this Government over the slaveholding States of the Confederacy;" and that "the election of a Republican President is the ineritable destruction of this Confederacy."

The Senator from Georgia [Mr. Toomss] began his speech vesterday by solemnly announ-

The Senator from Georgia [Mr. Toomss] began his speech yesterday by solemply announcing that the country was in the midst of a civil revolution, and closed it by imploring the freemen of the State he represents to "redeem their pledge," and "never permit this Federal Government to pass into the traitorous hands of the Black Republican party." He calls upon the people of Georgia to "listen to 'no vain babblings." to no treacherous jargon about 'overt blings, 'to no treacherous jargon about 'overt acts;' they have already been committed. Defend yourselves, the enemy is at your door; wait not to meet him at the hearthstone-meet him liberty, or pull down its pillars and involve him

Union?"

We are entering, Mr. President, upon another Presidential election; another great struggle for supremacy in the national councils between the opposing forces of slavery extension and slavery restriction. The nation once more presents to mankind "the interesting spectacle of justice in conflict with avarice and oppression." This "conflict" is stirring the country to its profoundest depths. Conscious of their waning power, the advocates of slavery expansion are again haughtily menacing the dissolution of the in a corn on ruin." The Legator from North Carolina [Mr. CLING-MAN] assides us that in the South "there are hundreds of disunionists now where there was one ten years ago;" that in some of the States men who "would willingly to-day see the Union dissolved" are in the majority, and in other States a large class of men are "ready to unite with them upon the happening of a cause." And

power, the advocates of slavery expansion are again haughtily measeing the dissolution of the Union in the event of their defeat by the people. Again, in the public press, in assemblages of the people, in State Legislatures, and in these Chambers, disloyal and revolutionary threats are made, to intimidate the people. Sir, the Senator from Georgia, before the meeting of Congress, boasted before the people of his State, that "the proud and enviable condition of the poor men in the South, compared to the degraded whith slaves of the North, is owing to the existence of African slavery in the South."

with them upon the happening of a cause." And he says:

"In my judgment, the election of the Presidential candidate of the Black Republican party will furnish that cause."

To the suggestion that they "ought to wait for some overt act," the Senator says:

"No off or beer act act can so imperatively demand resistance on our part as the simple election of their candidate. Their organization is one of avowed heetility, and they come against on some overt act," the Senator says:

"No off or beer act act can so imperatively demand resistance on our part as the simple election of the Presidential candidate of the Black Republican party will furnish that cause."

To the suggestion that they "ought to wait for some overt act," the Senator says:

"No off or beer act," and off or supplement, the election of the Black Republican party will furnish that cause."

To the suggestion that they "ought to wait for

graded whith Slaves of the North, is owing to the existence of African slavery in the South."

Mr. IVERSON. Will the Senator allow me to ask which Senator from Georgia he refers to?

Mr. WILSON. The Senator who is now on the first election they should choose a Southern Free-Soller. While the colonies have submitted more willingly to Benedic, Arpold than to Lord Cornwallis?" But the Senator seems to be in favor of the secession of the States, but not of the secession

of members of Congress. He says:
"I may say, however, that I do not think there will be 'I may say, however, that I do not talk to you yee session of the Southern members of Congress from a Capitol. As has always struck me that this is a point not be voluntarily surrendered to the public enemy."

The Senator from North Carolina evidently incondition of African slavery at the South ele-vated the poor white man; but I did not speak claims a e Senator, "it would seem poetically the same meeting where he is reported to have used the words which he now disclaims, and which I am glad he disclaims, is reported to have disappointed in his expectations. But the Senants, sues 'cowardly creatures," is, I suppose, intended 1 admonish us on this side of the Chamber that the Senator is terribly in earnest

main wit in the Union. Having declared that, if lives at to be sacrificed, it will be poetically just that vey should be sacrificed here on this floor; and that, as so much has gone forth from this Capital to inflame the public mind, it is but proper that the first fruit of the straggle should be reaped here, the Senator gives us, therefore to this tigett, that Northern Senators cannot thus be intimidated, is too tame and common-place to meet the exigency. Therefore, I take it upon myself to inform the Senator from North Carolins, that the people of the free States have sent their epresentatives here, not to fight, but

cited contest in the other end of the Capitol, the leaders of the Democracy have avowed the rankest disunion sentiments; and these arowals of disloyally to the Union have been often rapturously applanded on the Democratic aide of the Chamber, and in the galleries, crowded, as they have often been, by Government officials or Government contractors or dependents. Sir, if the Union-loving, liberty-loving, patriotic men of the country could have heard these menaces of disunion; could have witnessed the applanding Democracy on the floor; and could have witnessed the Democratic smiles, the Democratic sode, and the Democratic congratulations, they would visit upon the actors in this farce, and upon their compeers here and at home, the stern rebulke and withering acorn of an indignant people.

Early in the session, Mr. Natson, of Tennessee, a distinguished member of the Southern Opposition, rebuked the dismaion acutiments which had been so profusely scattered through the debates by the accessionists; and he avowed his devotion to the Union in tones of thrilling eloquence. His patriotic and national semisments received the enthusiastic applanse of the Southern Opposition and the Republicans. The patriotic sentiments of the eloquent Tennessean, reminding us of the days, before the advent into these Halls of the secession disciples of Calhoun, when the followers of Clay—sy, and of Jackson, too—had made the Chambers echo with sentiments of devotion to the Union, seemed to grate harshly upon Democratic cars.

Mr. Prove, of Virginia, who, in 1856, as one of the editors of the Richmond Enguirer, echoed the disunion sentiments of Gov. Wise, rose and propounded to Mr. Natson this question:

"Would you be willing William H. Sawam should the presented of the Union of the Thiot States? Would he allow William H. Sawam to take possession of the Canditational powers of the Contract of the Union, the insugarvation of William H. Sawam to take possession of the Union of William H. Sawam to take possession of the Union, when the selectio

the Union.
Mr. Curry, of Alabama, in a speech which is by far the most comprehensive and philosophical presentation of the issues yet made on the slave-

"However distasteful it may be to my friend frum New York, [Mr. Clark,] however much it may revoit the public sentiment or conscience of this country, I am not ashamed or afraid publicly to avow that the election of Wallaw H. Sgward or Salmon P. Chase, or any such representative of the Republican party, upon a sectional platform, ought to be resisted to the disruption of every tie that binds this Confederacy together. [Applause on the Democratic side of the House.]"

Mr. Pugh, of the same State, in a speech of much rhetorical beauty and eloquence, said:

"If, with the character of the Government well defined, and the rights and privileges of the parties to the compact clearly asserted by the Bemecratic party, the Black Republicans get possession of the Government, then the question is fully presented, whether the Southern States will remain in the Union, as subject and degraded colonies, or will they withdraw, and establish a Southern Confederacy of coequal homogeneous severeigns?

"In my judgment, the latter is the only course compatible with the honor, equality, and safety of the South; and the somer it is known and acted upon the better for all parties to the compact.

"The truest conservatism and wisest statesmanship demand a speedy termination of all association with such confederates, and the formation of another Union of States, homogeneous in population, institutions, interests, and pursuits."

Mr. Moone, of the same State, said:

Mr. Moore, of the same State, saat:

"I do not concur with the declaration made yesterday by
the gentleman from Tennessee, that the election of a Black
Republican to the Presidency was not cause for a dissolution
of the Union. Whenever a President is elected by a fanatical
majority at the North, those whom I represent, as I believe,
and the gallant State which I in part represent, are ready,
let the consequences be what they may, to fall back on their
reserved rights, and say: "As to this Union, we have no

Mr. Boyce, of South Carolina, before the meet can President; second, if this must occur, in spite of all our wise exertions to the contrary, to

Union sentiments, whenever or by whomsoever uttered, grate harshly on Democratic ears, tuned to the accents of disunion. When Mr. STOKES, of Tenneasee, the other day rebuked the disloyal sentiments which so glibly fall from Democratic lips; when be, in eloquent, manly, and patriotic language declared his devotion to the Union; when he quoted and endorsed as his own the words of Henry Clay, "that he would consent to the dissolution of the Union—never! never! never!" the Democracy foamed and gnashed its teeth in impotent wrath.

Governor Letcher, of Virginia, in his recent message to the Legislature of his State, avows the rankest disunion and revolutionary sentiments. In this document, he declares that if a Republican President is elected in 1860,

"It is nacless to attempt to conceal the fact that, in the

Republican President is elected in 1860,

"It is nacless to attempt to conocal the fact that, in the present temper of the Southern people; if cannot be and will not be naturated by. The 'irrepressible conflict' doctrine, announced and advocated by the ablest and most distinguished leader of the Republican party is an open declaration of war against the institution of African slavery, wherever it exists; and I would be disloyal to Vigginia and the South if I did not declare that the election of such a man, entertaining such sentiments, and advocating such doctrines, ought to be resisted by the slaveholding States. The idea of parmitting such a man to have the control and direction of the army and navy of the United States, and the appointment of high Judicial and Executive officers, postmasters included, cannot be entertained by the South for a noment."

I might outsto. Mr. President, the avanuals of

I might quote, Mr. President, the avowals of disunion sentiments by other Democratic leaders and other Democratic presses; for these avowals of disloyalty to the unity of the Republic are scattered, in rank luxuriance, broadcast over the land. But I must pause.

Mr. CLAY. Will the Senator pardon me a moment? He seems to charge the sentiments, which he calls disunion seutiments, on the Democratic party mainly. So far as the State of Alabama is involved in that charge, I may speak advisedly, when I say that sentiments such as I uttered, and which he has quoted, have been endorsed unanimously by the Legislature of the State which I have the honor to represent. And if the Senator will pardon me further, I will say, State which I have the honor to represent. And if the Senator will pardon me further, I will say, too, that those who call themselves Americans or Oppositionists there, I think, have gone even further than the Democratic party. Hence, I hardly think it is just to the American party in the South to attribute these sentiments exclusively to the Democratic party. I think the other side are entitled to a share of the credit of them.

Mr. WILSON. It may be so in the gentleman's own State; I know that on the Gulf they are running wild with disunion; but how is it with the Representatives of the Southern Oppo-

with the Representatives of the Southern Opposition on the floor of the House of Representa tives? Their sentiments have been pronounced nearly all of them, distinctly in favor of the

Union.

I have, however, gathered up enough of these noisy menaces of disunion, which are falling thick and fast around us, to show to the Senate and the country that the accepted leaders of the Democratic party are secessionists and disunionists, with the accents of disunion perpetually on their lips, and its spirit burning in their hearts. I have also gathered up, from the mass of facts which lie at my feet, enough to show that the Democratic party is tainted with the odor of disunion, that the stain of disleyalty is now indelibly stamped upon its brow. I have shown, too. union, that the stain of disloyalty is now indeli-bly stamped upon its brow. I have shown, too, that these menaces of disunion, which Demo-cratic leaders are hurling around us in this Cap-itol, go unrebuked by the Northern Democracy, whose glory it is to follow these apostles of se-cession and disunion. The country will not fail to see, and to mark, too, the discreditable fact, that while Democratic leaders in these Chambers are muttering angry menaces of disunion, and are muttering angry menaces of disunion, and while such madness goes unrebuked, even by the faintest whispers of the Democratic representa-

cult to present to Western Virginians any stronger argument against the prevailing idea that slavery is the paramount interest of our section of the State. The state of the case is about this: and we have to pay for their keeping. If there is make to pay for their keeping. If there is make to pay for their keeping. If there is may particular advantage to us in this, we would be glad to have it pointed out. Yet there, are men among us who urgue strongly in fivor of the interest in the paramount interests. The state of he case is on the moral and social, but on the political and particular advantages of the system. Every on the moral and social, but on the political and prevention of the interest in the paramount interests. The state of the case of our section of the state of the case of our section of the state of the case of our section of the state of the case of our section of the state of the case of our section of the state of the state

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Union It will insist always upon a faithful adherence to DR. BAILEY, drawn by D'Avignon, from an original photograph by McClees, is just published by C. H. BRILEY, drawn by D'Avignon, from an original photograph by McClees, is just published by C. H. BRILEY, drawn by D'Avignon, from an original photograph by McClees, is just published by C. H. BRILEY, drawn by D'Avignon, from an original photograph by McClees, is just published by C. H. BRILEY, drawn by D'Avignon, from an original photograph by McClees, is just published by C. H. BRILEY, drawn by D'Avignon, from an original photograph by McClees, is just published by C. H. BRILEY, drawn by D'Avignon, from an original photograph by McClees, is just published by C. H. BRILEY, drawn by D'Avignon, from an original photograph by McClees, is just published by C. H. BRAILEY, drawn by D'Avignon, from an original photograph by McClees, is just published by C. H. BRAILEY, drawn by D'Avignon, from an original photograph by McClees, is just published by C. H. BRAILEY, drawn by D'Avignon, from an original photograph by McClees, is just published by C. H. BRAILEY, drawn by D'Avignon, from an original photograph by McClees, is just published by C. H. BRAILEY, drawn by D'Avignon, from an original photograph by McClees, is any photograph by McClees, is just published by C. H. BRAILEY, drawn by D'Avignon, from an original photograph by McClees, is just published by C. H. BRAILEY, drawn by D'Avignon, from an original photograph by McClees, is any photograph by McClees, is any photograph by McCl flammatory counsels, the acctional agitation which dis-turbs the peace and threatens the welfare of the Federal seck occasion for thrusting it upon public arcention, it will not shrink from its discussion whenever it shall be Theodore Parker, Raiph Waldo Emerson, John Sherma brought prominently before the county, and made the theme of public controversy; but it will treat it as a local institution, the creature of local law, and subject to the exclusive supervision and control of the communities in which it exists. The Times will resist every attempt, and will denounce every proposition, to wage war upon it from without, or to excite the fears, wound the pride and arouse the resentments of those States which may be disposed or obliged to permit its continued existence. But it will also oppose every endeavor to extend it into re-gions now free from its influence, to reopen the Slave Trade with Africa, to impose the laws and the principles on which it rests upon other States, and to exact for it an undue share of influence and of power in the Councils of the Confederacy. It will press upon all sections, upon the South and upon the North—the full discharge of all their duties under the Constitution, and will rebuke and resist every at mpt on the part of ultraigts, in either sec-

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